1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one-half of its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity.

INDUSTRY

The major industries of the Marquesas included the erection of platforms and houses, canoe building, fishing, planting and harvesting. These were the peace-time activities, requiring the participation of communal labor under the direction of organizers and skilled leaders. What may be characterized as the minor industries are those in the especial province of the women, particularly mat and cloth making and those home industries such as the making of weapons and utensils, that were practiced as private employment by men. The arts and minor crafts, practiced as a means of livelihood by professionals, consisted in tattooing, the making of ornaments, drum making, the making of string figures and lashings, and in the decoration of canoes and houses, in various ways such as with ornamental sennit or carving.

THE TERMS HANA AND TUHUNA

The word *hana* is used freely in the Marquesas to signify work, industries, and the like: for example, *hana ava-ika* indicates the whole industry of fishing, *te tau hana enata*, meaning all the native arts and crafts. *Tuhuna* signified one who was a proved expert in any phase of activity, mental or physical. A *tuhuna* was an expert, a master, a director in enterprise, or one of great learning. If a native's admiration is excited by anything that one does—and nothing excites their admiration more than skill or cleverness—he will say, *tuhuna oe;* you are a *tuhuna*. The terms for various kinds of *tuhuna* do not indicate that there was in each tribe a professional who devoted all his time to one of these activities. One person might be a *tuhuna* in a number of branches of learning or activity. And *tuhuna* did not necessarily mean a professional; although it usually did, since one who came to be recognized as a *tuhuna* would undoubtedly have been called upon to practice as a professional and would thus have gained in wealth and prestige. *Tuhuna nui*, meaning great *tuhuna*, was applied to one especially skilled in his profession, one who occupied the position of director among other skilled workers, as, for example, the chief fisherman, but particularly to one who had all-around skill and

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

kava, and Melville speaks of the small portions of food that were pushed under the curtain by unseen hands to the *tapu* patients within the apartments, the restriction in food being intended to reduce the blood and so diminish inflammation; Langsdorff reports that the patient must drink very little for fear of inflammation, and must not eat early in the morning.

The work was performed by *tuhuna patu tiki (patu*, to mark or strike; *tiki*, designs), artists, evidently trained in the school of experience, some of them coming to enjoy great vogue on more than one island. Although Garcia states that the office was hereditary, each great family having its family of tattooers trained from generation to generation for its use, nothing of the sort can be traced today. According to modern informants, skill alone was qualification for practice and requisite for patronage. Langsdorff tells of novices who, for practice, operated upon poor people at very small charge, and Melville reports even the hiring of "vile fellows" as models on whom they could practice.

All present-day information denies Melville's statement that there were orders of tattooing artists. It is more likely that there were itinerant members of the profession, as he states. All seem to have practiced quite independently, although there was probably the kind of bond between them that followers of any profession feel. It is said in Ua Pou that there were different *tuhuna* for men and women because of the rule of *tapu* which ascribed to men greater sacredness than to women, but this was not true during the latter days of the art. No woman *tuhuna* was ever heard of. There were evidently contests between *tuhuna*, two or three working at the same time in an *oho'au*, attempting to excel one another in rapidity of execution and delicacy of designs. In the light of knowledge about the ancient native training in other artistic lines, it is possible to hazard the guess that to be accepted at all as a *tuhuna*, a thorough acquaintance with all the conventional units of the art was requisite; for, although individual *tuhuna* certainly varied and elaborated designs at will, yet they did not stray from the basic units.

A *tuhuna* was aided in his work by four or five assistants called *ou'a* (or *hou'a*—translated by Dordillon, pupil, disciple—meaning also shrimp). He was consulted as to the choice of designs, his decision apparently being usually accepted, although the *opou* was free to select his patterns. He outlined the designs upon the body with a piece of charcoal. But it was the *ou'a* who held the arms and legs of the patient, who stretched the skin to make a smooth surface upon which to work, who fanned the flies from the bleeding wounds, and who often, it is reported, filled in the outlined designs.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

designs. The people took delight in fine craftsmanship and great pride in perfection. A master worker enjoyed much prestige.

There was sharp sex distinction in the manufacturies, women being of minimum importance. They could make mats, baskets, fans, and bark cloth, but only about fifteen percent of the articles used by the tribe were made by women. A man could use mats or baskets made by a woman, but he could not wear bark cloth that had been made by a woman not related to him by blood. Even a wife was barred by this taboo, so that when a woman did make bark cloth, it was for the use of her brother or nephew, not her husband. This was the only place in Polynesia where the natives had no decoration on their bark cloth; they merely dipped it occasionally in saffron to dye it yellow. All the women's handiwork was similarly crude and simple.

The men's work, in contradistinction, was of tremendous economic importance. All the production of food, with the exception of gathering shellfish, done by both sexes, was men's work. Men built the houses, made the cooking utensils, did their own cooking, and not infrequently cooked for the entire household. In short, men were in complete charge of the economic situation.

Master Craftsmen

The institution of master craftsmen was saliently characteristic of Marquesan culture. All men knew how to make everything that they needed, but the degree of skill differed and there was great respect for experts. The master craftsman was a person of importance and had the opportunity to accumulate wealth.

At the upper end of the scale of master craftsmen were the house and canoe makers, who were also organizers and directors, and the artists, who were master carvers. These *tuhungas* worked mostly on order; they joined the employer's household, received food during the time they were working on a job, and were presented with a liberal gift on departure. The *tuhunga* could afford to be temperamental, for because of the peculiar religious sanctions, no other man could carry on a job which

/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore; it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [797]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776]
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/54 cont./ 838

There are relatively few mahu in the archipelago. I saw one transvestite, who lived with a woman and reputedly had fathered her children but was nevertheless definitely termed a mahu by the natives, having indulged in habitual homosexuality. This person had a very feminine physique with wide hips, narrow shoulders, and thin poorly muscled arms and legs, contrasting sharply to the usually heavily muscled Marquesan male. He walked with a feminine hip swing, used hand and arm motions like those of women, and wore a wrap-around skirt, a woman's blouse tied in a bare midriff fashion, and a string of shells. This person enjoyed a considerable reputation as a "laundress" and "seamstress," two characteristically female roles. [462]

Two other homosexuals, not transvestites but very markedly effeminate, were also married, using their wives to attract males and /55/ compromise them for homosexual acts. Both men maintained fairly regular male lovers. Other males who showed interest in the wives were propositioned and promised use of the wife if they would indulge in pederasty or fellation first with the husband. The women involved in these relationships did not appear to be overly concerned about the husband's deviation. Both of these individuals practiced fellatio with frequency as well as pederasty. At least one experienced a very strong orgasm during pederasty. Natives who had consorted with him remarked that he was "just like a woman: making noise in his orgasm." Fellatio was resorted to for the purpose of exciting a lagging male before pederasty, as well as to produce an orgasm. [832]

Female homosexuality occurs, but no data on frequency is available. One case of bestiality was noted in which a sexually deprived young girl in an isolated valley had used a dog to perform cunnilinctus with some regularity, in the absence of males. 839

Digital and mechanical masturbation is practiced by adolescent females also, probably more frequently in cases of sexual deprivation. Bananas and pundanus fruit segments [824]

/104 cont./
not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numerous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture in general) which appear to have been of European introduction. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly Western type kissing in general, and a large number of idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with particular individuals. However, these last are relatively superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of behavioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus, there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allowing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch (Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimulation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held effective power over the male contingent by the distribution of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/106 cont./ 462

tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923).

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/

[888] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women *vis a vis* men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources.

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One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little